

PAPER

History of Historicism

An Anthology

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. Man by nature is timid and peaceful and at the least danger his first reaction is to flee, he only fights through the force of his habit and experience. Honour, interest, prejudice, and vengeance all those passions which make him brave. **Aristotle** kept the war separate from political philosophy, **Plato** declares that military science and theory of warfare form a part of art of citizenship referring here to skill in the use of arms¹. Plato was born in Athens, he was student of Socrates and teacher of Aristotle, his classical work is Republic,

¹ M.G. Forsyth edited, *The theory of International Affairs selected texts from Gentili to Traitschke* {George Allen, London, 1970}, p - 18

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which is the base of morality and everything related to it. Morality to Plato was a key factor of the human life and the debate about what is good and what is bad starts from here, Plato did not reach any conclusion in his dialogues other than that morality is something which only an individual can judge what is wrong and what is right. ‘ Since it is the expressed opinion that morality is one of those paramount good things which are worth having not just for the consequences but also and especially for themselves... so it is not enough just to demonstrate that morality is better than immorality, show us why one of them, in and of itself makes anyone who possess it good’.² For Plato the education was the most important thing, at that time the children were imparted physical and cultural studies at Athens and in Plato’s view the cultural education takes precedence over physical

History is never constructed from narratives but from documents³, it is one view and other is that history can be constructed rather it is present irrespective of the

² Plato *Republic*, a new translation by Robert Waterfield, { Barnes & Noble, NY, 1993 },p-56

³Benedetto Croce,. *History,its Theory and Practice*, trans. Douglas Ainslie .{NewYork:Russell,1960},p-12.

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documents. By history I mean research conducted scientifically.⁴

What is History? It can be a history as what has actually happened in the past, or history as our inevitably imperfect understanding of what happened in past or history as the continuing attempt by professional historians to extend our knowledge and improve our understanding of what happened in the past.⁵Carr Edward. *What is History ?* New York: Alfred Knopf, 1964.writes, before you study History study the historian and before you study historian study his historical and social environments.{P.54}⁶

Kelley, Donald. *Faces of History, Historical inquiry from Herodotus to Herder*. London: Yale university Press,1998. History as a concept and term is a European perspective, a Greek creation {p.3} Like Epic poets the historians have been fascinated by the questions of origins, of first causes, which usually meant the founding of particular natural traditions....not from the start of dynasty but from the creation of the universe. {p.8} The first law of history according to Cicero is to tell the truth and mix in nothing that was false {p.9}, like

⁴FerdinandBraudel,. *On History* trans. Sarah Matthew . {University of Chicago,1980}.,p-64.

⁵GrahamWatts,. *The Learning of History* . {London : Routledge & Kegan,1972},p-41.

⁶ Edward Carr . *What is History ?* {New York: Alfred Knopf, 1964},p.54.

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philosophy history concerned itself with questions of cause and effects, {p.10}History is often regarded as form of memory, History has a pattern that could be explained {p.21}.

Herodotus was born in 484-428 BC , than Thucydides{460BC} , he wrote a history of Peloponnesian war, he served as general in the wars, later dismissed , he died in the hand of an assassin.. Polybius {200BC} he wrote two centuries after Herodotus and Thucydides, he wrote about the rise of Rome, he was also a general in the army and exiled to Rome. His history starts with 220BC, the various wars in Greece, Asia, Italy and Africa , he invented the term **pragmatic history**. Lelio Torelli was the first to associate history with the notion of method, another thinker Francis Baudoun of France noted that like law, history is a form of wisdom , Baudoun prized eye witness testimony , failing this he turned to monuments and records {p.194}. Jean Bodin was of the opinion that History is above all sciences, according to Bodin, history comprises of human natural and divine, he codified history , a bibliography of 282 items {p.198} , men who compares modern historians with the ancients and ancients with each other and adds physical considerations also, will make the most certain judgement about history, {p.198}.

Kahler, Erich. *The Meaning of History*. New York: George Brazitter,1964. Where there is no

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happening there is no history...thus the more flow of events become meaningful the more it becomes history {p.23} Historia is a Greek word meaning Physical Research {p.25}, Lester Stephen . *Probing the past a guide to the study of and teaching history*. {Boston: Allyn & Bacon. 1974}, History is also a story, history is past but we cannot reconstruct past in totality, we are more interested in those acts of pasts which have importance today as well,⁷ {Jhonson Arnold. *The Historian and historical Evidence* .NewYork: Charles Scribner 1926 .}

The main debate is whether history to be considered as an science or as a art, German philosopher Leopold Von Ranke wrote *Wie Es Eigentlich ge we sen* ‘ as it actually happened’. {Ibid,p.9} the scientific method is in which the historians proceed through a steps, First he a perceives a problem , something unknown about the past, an unsatisfactory explanation. In the second step , historian reads and forms about an idea or hypothesis and in third step, historian collects facts and data to verify his hypothesis and finally he draws his conclusion {p.22}. thus history does not exist apart from facts, thus Historical fact is a fact about the past , it may be true or false, thus take the example of Alexander the Great being wounded in 326 B.C, now it cannot be proved, because it cannot be repeated, therefore

⁷ Lester Stephen . *Probing the past a guide to the study of and teaching history*. {Boston: Allyn & Bacon. 1974},p.5.

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statement of one person becomes all important , in one sense there are no facts in history ‘fact’ is inferred from certain tangible tracts {p.24}.

Hypothesis and Theory. Historical inquiry does not strictly bind itself to the scientific model of investigation, historian is in most instances searching for the unique and particular case, not for the general and universally applicable principle or law. {p.31}.His goal is less to verify or refute a hypothesis and more to reconstruct the past as accurately as possible {p.32}. Historical facts are not manna, facts are worthless unless someone does something with them and the job of historic is to make them tell the truth as fully as possible , historian based his work upon facts but he also recognizes the problems attached to them . theory is used interchangeably with hypothesis, however a theory is much broader and more encompassing than a hypothesis. In science , theory is supported by general laws, however in history, there are no general laws. An example of historical hypothesis is that of Waith Prescott Webb hypothesis ‘ that conflict with the plain Indians resulted from cross movement, that is , the Indians moved northward-southward, while American settlers moved westward. Arnold Toynbee’s theory of civilisation ‘

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which broadly consist of numerous hypothesis and generalisation⁸ {p.33}

Historical frame of Reference , historian select and arranges facts in some kind of pattern, he interprets them and he draws generalisation from them, all these actions require him to order knowledge and this ordering of knowledge , we shall call his 'frame of reference'. Basic element of historians frame of reference is his underlying philosophy, assumptions and beliefs which he holds about his nature of man and the universe, his metaphysical , epistemological and axiological positions.

Gottschalk Louis *Understanding History* NewYork: Alfred Knopf,1969. Writes Historian cannot avoid and therefore it is better that he should be openly committed to some philosophy and some code of ethics⁹.

Historian is a living thing, he is a political animal, he believes either in democracy or in dictatorship. *Frontier thesis*¹⁰ Fredrick turner Jackson 's Frontier Thesis, in it Turner argued that peculiar frontier condition in USA contributes significantly to the formation of the national character and the spirits of

⁸ Arnold Jhonson,. *The Historian and historical Evidence*{NewYork: Charles Scribner 1926},p.33.

⁹ Louis Gottschalk *Understanding History* {NewYork: Alfred Knopf,1969},p.10.

¹⁰ <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/TURNER/> American Frontier , a thesis written by Ted Turner in 1890.

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American , he had studied biology, physics and chemistry and as such he employed and modified the Germ theory to support his thesis {p.44}. The facts without interpretation do not constitute history {p.62}. A historical generalisation is a statement or a term which has been informed inductively from a number of particular cases instances or events, historical generalisation suggests some regularity or pattern of events, ideas and human actions which is of historical significance. ***Frontier thesis***¹¹ {p.66}

Synthetic generalisation , it requires the historian to ferret out some uniformities from a mass of a material on a broad topic such as war or revolution, predictive generalisation is almost like a law.

Historiography at its highest level of originality may attempt an enquiry which former generators called philosophy of history in an application at a lower level it is deep structured inquiry until around 1700 , the idea of a period of history designating a stretch of time with an internal unity and more importantly the notion of ‘source’ understood as composing one of the elements out of which a historical text might flow, just as river originates in its source, William Robertson seems to have been the first to use the word in that sense in 1777,

¹¹ <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/TURNER/> American Frontier , a thesis written by Ted Turner in 1890.

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he was principal of Edinburgh University¹². Karl Marx has written in the opening sentence of his Communist Manifesto 'The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle' where as Emile Durkheim {1858-1917} intermingle the history and sociology 'How' becomes important. Wilhelm Dillthey produced a critique of scientific methods in humanities, he was consumed that history moves in a pattern, according to laws¹³.

On what should we base our narrative if not on living knowledge...this equally true of modern history, where the nature of the subject makes it inevitable that much will remain hidden for a long time and where an author will have no means other than his suspicion with which to discover {or perhaps conceal} events which he will nonetheless present as recognised truth, facts which later come to light reveal the attempted reconstruction as erroneous, the chief requirement for an historical work remains always that it be true; that events actually happened as they are described, the scholarly service performed by the work is by far the most important.¹⁴

¹² Micheal Bently, *Modern Historiography an Introduction* {London: Routledge, 1999}, pp, 1-44.

¹³ Ibid, p-87.

¹⁴ Ranke, Leopold. 'The Historians Task' in *The Secrets of World History selected writings on the art and science of History*, ed and trans, Roger Wines. {New York: Fordham University Press, 1981}, p

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Gardiner, Patrick. Ed. *Theories of History*. Illinois: Free Press, 1959. The term philosophy of History has been applied somewhat indiscriminately to all speculative schemes {p.7}. Giambattista Vico {1668-1774} born in Naples, wrote *New science* {1725}, in which he propounded the a 'Cyclic theory of History' in which human nations pass through inevitably certain distinguishable stages of development, he believed that unlike world of natural object about which the God alone knows, the world of nations or human history has in fact been created by men and is therefore something which men can hope to know, {p.10}

Karen Katajin highlights the **History and Repetition**¹⁵, from ancient times it has been said that history repeats itself, in truth people study history precisely because it is not a onetime phenomenon but rather maintains the possibility of recurrence. Does the repetition of history actually exist? Such questions have never been properly considered for even if they intuitively acknowledge the repetition of history scholars aspiring to be scientific refrain from taking on the issue for the fear of rendering their work unscientific. I believe in the existence of historical repetition, as well as in the possibility of engaging such a repetition scientifically, of

¹⁵ Kojin Karatani. *History and Repetition*, ed. Seiji M. Lippit {New York: Columbia University, 2012}.

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course what is repeated is not the event itself but rather the structure. ‘Kondratieff Wave’, a sixty year business cycle, a theory of long wave authored by N.D. Kondratieff {1892-1938}. Repetition in history does not signify the recurrence of the same event, for repetition is possible only in terms of form {structure} and not event {content}.

Karl Marx stated while writing about the events of French coup of 1851, ‘Hegel remarks somewhere that all facts and personages of great importance in world history occur as it were twice. He forgot to add; the first time as **tragedy second as farce**’, Marx referred to the repetition of history of 1789 and later that of 1848, in the both cases, a revolution that overthrew the monarchy and aimed to establish a republic, resulted ultimately in imperial rule. *Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the generations of the dead weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living. And just when they seem involved in revolutionizing themselves and things, in creating something that has never before*

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*existed, it is precisely in such periods of revolutionary crisis that they anxiously conjure up the spirits.*¹⁶

Karl Jaspers¹⁷ states that Man's history has largely disappeared from memory, only through investigation and research does it become accessible, foremost in 19th Century world history was seen as the history of West, where as in 20th century gives equal rights to all men where there are men there is history, In Western world, the philosophy of history was founded in the Christian faith, ranging from St Augustine to Hegel, All history goes towards and comes from Christ as quoted by Hegel.

William Edward Harpole Lecky, wrote Thoughts in history there are many different kind of history, which should be written in many different ways, a diplomatic, a military or a parliamentary history...the supreme virtue of the historian is truthfulness.¹⁸

¹⁶ *Karl Marx. The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, Chapter 10.* <http://www.marx2mao.com/M&E/EBLB52.html>

¹⁷ Karl Jaspers, *The Origins and Goal of History*, {NewHaven: Yale University, 1953}, I.

¹⁸ William Edward Harpole Lecky, *Historical and Political Essays* {NewYork:Freeport, 1970 {1908}, pp, 1-9.

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Alan Munslow writes¹⁹ , histories live the past and history exists in a synonymous relationship, based on fine related assumptions, historians statements are defensible empirically and to discover the meaning of the facts then to infer the causal relationship , this takes the form of hypothesis, to advance historical explanations , a truthful narrative and define history.

Lynn Hunt, in, *Writing History in the Global Era* states that in 1852/53, requirement for admission to the Harvard University required knowledge of algebra, geometry, Cesare's commentaries, select orations from Cicero.²⁰ The Marxist view all history is driven by changes in the economic mode of production that shape conflicts between classes,²¹. Few paradigms in historical research are Marxist, Modernization which includes Durkheim and Weber, the Annales School and finally the Identity Politics especially inn USA. The Annales School emerged in France in 1930-40, focussing on pre industrial societies, the main founder was Marck Bloch, Lucier Febvre and Ferdinand Braudel. They aimed at directing history away from merely battles , treaties towards the social life , society, social groups and on collective narrative {p-16}. Annales School of historian

¹⁹ Alan Munslow, *A History of History*, {London:Routledge,2012},pp.37-44.

²⁰Lynn Hunt, *Writing History in Global Era* {NewYork: Norton,2014},p.2.

²¹ Ibid,p.14.

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believe that environment climatic and demography shapes human activity in a fundamental way. Since these factors change slowly over long periods of time neither revolution nor any other kind of short term political change concern them {p-17}.

Culturist theorist insists that culture has its own meanings own autonomous logic, language and cultural expressions that shape the social world. The term use to describe them are ‘cultural studies’ ‘past structuralism’ ‘past modernism’ ‘past colonialism’ ‘linguistic turn’ ‘cultural turn’..they all are like cousins and inter related terms.. area studies did not demand a specific theoretical commitment and could foster an interest in the particularities of different cultures{p-28}. First Coffee House opened in at oxford in 1650 by a Jew and by 1700 there were over 500 coffee houses in London alone. The term ‘class’ first appeared in 1790 in England, High Class, Middle Class and middling class, the term working class first appeared in in 1815 {p-87}. Sociology first appeared in in English in 1842 , it was used by Auguste Comte a French in 1830, given the variety of questions that call for a historical approach, no one paradigm is going to rule the roost {p-121}. The 1776 Declaration of Independence ‘When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal status to which the Laws of

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nature and Naturist God entitled them, a decent respect to the opinion of mankind.

Lord Acton²², *Essays in the Liberal Interpretation of History*, writes a review on the thesis of Mr Buckle's *History of Civilisation in England* which was first posted in *Rambler* in 1858 and reprinted in London. McMillan 1907 . History is a generalised assessment of the personal actions of men united in bodies for any public purpose and science is the combination of a great mass of similar facts into the unity of a generalisation , a principle , or a certainty by the recurrence of like events under given conditions , now can there be a science of history. Lord Acton is famous for his saying *Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Great men are almost always bad men.*"The man argument Lord Acton has forwarded is, that can we predict the actions of such men which Buckle has argued, that it can be. Acton went on to states that ,;there is no regularity in the throws of the dice taken ten and ten together, but in a ten thousand throws, we can predict with great confidence how many times sixes will be drawn, there is no possible certainty that any given individual will commit murder , but take a population of one hundred thousand and in agiven time

²² Lord Edward Acton, Review on the Thesis of Mr Buckle's *History of Civilisation in England* first published in *Rambler* 1858 , *Essays in the Liberal Interpretation of History*, ed. William McNeill. {Chicago: University Press, 1967}.

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someone or the other is sure to be found committing murder, when we say Law , we always think of some force or command...but Mr buckle by law , only means ‘numerical average’.{P-13}.

C.V.Wedgewood. in *The sense of past, thirteen studies in the theory and practice of history*,²³ highlights the older historians concentrated more on nomenclature than on analysis , on ‘How’ the rather than ‘Why’ of history. The desire for withdrawal is often a powerful motive in driving the student towards the study of history. Marc Bloch in his *The Historian craft* wrote a resistance and published posthumously, That historian can only , in the last analysis , reconstruct the past by borrowing from and applying his own daily experience of life {P-26}. The romantic approach to history, is in which a historian bred in the national loyalty as almost a natural law, find it extremely difficult to grasp the meaning of the different loyalties, no less strong, which have constructed and disciplined the political lenses of men in the past{p-35}.

Marc Bloch*The Historian Craft*²⁴states western man has always been historically minded, Christianity is the religion of the historians {p-4}, other religious systems have been able to form their beliefs and their

²³C.V.Wedgewood. *The Sense of past, Thirteen Studies in the Theory and Practice of History* {NewYork: Collier,1960}.

²⁴Marc Bloch *The Historian Craft*, translated. Peter Putnam.{NewYork: Alfred Knopf,1963}.

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rites on mythology nearly outside human time. The word History is very old, so old that men have sometimes grown weary of it {P-20}. History is the science of the past{p-22}, Historian is like a police magistrate who strives to reconstruct a crime he has not seen{p-48} An experience almost as old as the mankind has taught us that more than one manuscript has justified its date or origin, that all the accounts are not true {P-79}. On historical analysis, Bloch writes and quotes Ranke 'historian' has no other aim than to describe things as they happened'. Herodotus said 'to narrate what was'. The scholar records, better stills he invites the experience which may perhaps upset his most cherished theories {p138}. For the first tool needed by an analysis is an appropriate language , a language capable of describing the precise outlines of the facts {p157}. Historian speaks only with words, hence with those of his country. Regarding Historical causation, Bloch writes 'in vain positivism claimed to eliminate the idea of cause from science...every physicist, every biologist thinks in terms of 'why' and 'because' ...here Bloch gives the example of a man falling from precipice {p-190}. For historical reasoning, the most specific , the one which somehow represents the differentially element in the compound of generative inference is accorded the name of cause {p-192}. Laws of trajectory are as valid as for defeat as for victory; they explain both, they are useless as a proper explanation for either , for a doctor , the

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acuse of an epidemic is the multiplication of a microbe and its conditions the dirt...for sociologist, it would be poverty,{p-193}.

Herbert Fisher *Studies in history and politics*²⁵ on the importance of history , irrespective of whom has written , in his support of logic he highlights the history written by Ammanius Marcellinius the Roman Soldier, he approached history from a soldier's angle...he is indeed our principal authority on art of war in 4th century AD.'.{p-13}.

Hans Kohn *Reflections on Modern History, The historian and human responsibility*,²⁶ History has a two fold meaning , first of all it is a sequence of events...our word story is connected with the word History original meaning of the Greek word Historia , not so much the narrative of the events but their interpretations {preface}. The historian is a man who tries to find out what has happened in the course of time and to correlate the events within the limits of available material on the one hand , his intelligence, imaginations, ethical understanding, on the other , into a meaningful sequence. Perhaps the ancient Hebrews were the first people

²⁵Herbert Fisher *Studies in History and Politics*{New York: Freeport,1967 {1920}.P-13.
<https://archive.org/stream/studiesinhistory00fish#page/n5/mode/2up>

²⁶Hans Kohn, *Reflections on Modern History, The historian and human responsibility*{Toronto:Van Nostrand,1963}.

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strongly conscious of their history, the past history of their tribe is to them always vividly present and continuous {P-4}. History is a process influenced by forces beyond man's grasp.

Hegel George Wilhelm Friedrich. *The Philosophy of History* translated Sibree,J.. New York, The Colonial Press, 1899. First Edition 1841.

Hegel defines three kind of histories the Original History, Reflective History and Philosophical History²⁷. In the first kind he mentions about Herodotus, Xenophon and Thucydides, they simply transferred what was passing in world around them{Ibid}. In reflective history, whose mode of representation is not really confined by the limits of the time to which it relates {p.4}this si what is known as Universal history. every writer of history proposes to himself an original method {ibid}.in this category he puts Livy, Diodorus, Siculus, Johannes Von Muller. In this category is Pragmatical History , when we have to deal with the past and occupy ourselves with a remote world. {ibid, p.5}another form of reflective history is Critical history , it is history of history a criticism of historical narrative and an investigation of their truth and credibility.

²⁷Hegel George Wilhelm Friedrich. *The Philosophy of History* translated Sibree,J..{ New York, The Colonial Press, 1899. First Edition 1841},p-i.

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On Philosophy of History , Hegel dwells ‘thoughtful consideration of it {history} {p.8} thought is indeed essential to humanity, it is this what distinguish us from brutes... philosophy brings with it to the contemplation of history, is the simple conception of Reason....that the history of the world presents us with a rational process., this conviction and intuition is a hypothesis in the domain of history as such, nature is an embodiment of reason, that it is unchangeably subordinate to universal laws...but to depict history is to depict the passion of mankind, the genius, the active powers, that play their part on the great stage.[ibid,p.13]....among the Ashantees the king inherits all the property left by his subjects at their death. ...among the negroes moral sentiments are quite weak or more strictly speaking non existent.[p.96]. tradition alleges that in former times a state composed of women made itself famous by its conquests, it was a state whose head was a woman. She is said to have pounded her own son in a mortar , to have besmeared herself with the bloodshe is said to have driven away or put to death all the males and commanded the death of all male children....an English traveller states that when war is determined on in Ashantee [p.100]

On India Hegel is off the mark with vague statements like India like China is a phenomenon antique as well as modern[p.139]...everything therefore –sun, moon, stars, the Ganges, the Indus beasts, flowers-

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everything is a god to it...the parrot , the cow the ape are likewise incarnations of god.[p.141].

Dilthey Wilhelm, *Pattern and Meaning in History thoughts on history and society*, ed, H.P.Rickman. New York: Harper Torch,1961.... **Dilthey 1833-1911 German.**

History is one of the forms of disciplined research by means of which the human mind satisfies its curiosity and orientates it self in world. [p.12] dilthey's most original contribution to history , is his conception of understanding and interpretation , through which meaning is recaptured. [p.33]

Immanuel Kant {1724-1804} '*On History*²⁸', edited by Lewis White Beck, translated by Lewis White Beck and Robert Anchor and Emil L,Fackenheim {NewYork: Bobbs Merril,1963}.

Kant wrote critique of pure reason and also the critique of practical reason, his first writing was in 1784, his two essays 'what is enlightenment' and 'idea of a universal history from a cosmopolitan point of view'. What is enlightenment is the name of the essay and he went on to describe 'enlightenment is man's reliance

²⁸Immanuel Kant {1724-1804} '*On History*²⁸', edited by Lewis White Beck, translated by Lewis White Beck and Robert Anchor and Emil L,Fackenheim {NewYork: Bobbs Merril,1963}.

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from his self-incurred tutelage, which is man's inability to make use of his understanding without direction from another. Self incurred is this tutelage when its causes lies not in lack of reason but in lack of resolution and courage to use it without direction from another. Sapere Aude{dare to know} , ***have courage to use your own reason***, this is the motto of enlightenment. This term was much used by President Musharraf in Pakistan during his tenure to highlight the intellectual state in country which was under the control of the religious leaders and scholars.

'In Idea for a Universal History from a cosmopolitan point of view' Kant highlights that what concepts one may hold from a metaphysical point of view, concerning the freedom of will, certainly its appearances which are human actions, like every other natural event are determined by universal laws , However obscure their causes , history , which is concerned with narrating these appearances permits us to hope that if we attend to the play of freedom of the human will in the large, we may be able to discover a regular movement in it {p-11}. Since the free will of man has obvious influence upon marriages, birth, deaths , they seem to be subject to no rule by which the number of them could be reckoned in advance, yet the annual table of them in major countries prove that they occur according to laws as stable as those of the unstable weather, which in the large we cannot determine but

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which in the large maintains the growth of the plants... in keeping with this purpose it might be possible to have a history with a definite natural plan for creatures who have no plan of their own.{p-12}.

Kant's eight theses are, first one states 'all natural capacities of a creature are destined to evolve completely to their natural end.. If we give up this fundamental principle we no longer have a lawful but an aimless course of nature and blind chance takes the place of the guiding thread of reason. Second thesis 'Man, as the only rational creature on earth. Those natural capacities are directed to the use of his reason, are to be fully developed only in the race and not in the individual'.

The third thesis 'nature has willed that man should by himself produce everything that goes beyond the mechanical ordering of his animal existence and that he should partake of no other happiness or perfection than that which he himself independently of instincts has created by his reason'.

The fifth thesis highlights that 'The greatest problem for the human race, to the solution of which nature derives man, is the achievement of a universal civic society which administers law among men'. The highest purpose of nature which is the development of all capacities which can be achieved by mankind is attainable only in society and more specifically in the

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society with the greatest freedom, such a society is the one,, in which there is mutual opposition among members, together with the most exact definition of freedom and fixing of its limits so that it may be consistent with the freedom of others{p-16}. These thought sand the ideas are almost in practice in the tribal areas of Pakistan, where the tribal society has given freedom to each member yet there is a limit to which the society has put a limitation so that the others can live in harmony with each other.

In the sixth thesis Kant goes on in a logical manner to point that ‘this problem is the most difficult and the last to be solved by mankind’ Man is an animal which if it lives among others of its kind requires a master, for he certainly abuses his freedom with respect to the other men, he wishes to have a law which should restrict the freedom of others but where possible to exempt himself, the highest master should be just in himself yet a man.

Seventh thesis , ‘The problem of establishing a perfect civic constitution is dependent upon the problem of a lawful external relations among states and cannot be solved without a solution to the latter problem’ all wars are accordingly so many attempts to establish new relations among states and through the destruction or at least dismemberment of all of them to create new political bodies, purposeless savagery held back the

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development of the capacities of our race....same is done by the barbaric freedom of established states {pp.19-20}

Eight thesis deals with , ‘ The history of mankind, can be seen in the large as the realisation of nature’s secrets plan to bring forth a perfectly constituted state as the only condition in which the capacities of mankind can be fully developed and also bring forth that external relations among states which is perfectly adequate to this end.

Conjectural Beginning of Human History is another essay of Kant. Nomadic people recognising God alone as their lord a, city dwellers and farmers on the other hand have a human master in the form of government {p-65}

Perpetual Peace is another of Kant’s essay which highlights the kind of relationship which should exists among states for a long lasting peace, it is idealistic in nature. No treaty of peace shall be held valid in which there is tacitly reserved matter for a future war, otherwise a treaty would only be a truce, suspension of hostilities but not peace. No independent states large or small shall come under the dominion of another state by inheritance , exchange, purchase or donation , a state is not a ground , a piece of property , it is a society of men whom no one else has any right to command or disperse except the state itself. Standing armies shall in time be totally abolished for they incessantly menace other states

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by their readiness to appear at all times prepared for war, they incite them to compete each other in the number of armed men and there is no limit to this, {p87}, however periodic and voluntarily military exercises of citizens who thee by secure themselves and their country against foreign aggression are entirely different. To this he added three definitive articles

Constitution of every country state should be republican, this constitution is drawn by or established by firstly by principles of the freedom of the members of a society , secondly by principles of dependence of all upon a single common legislature and thirdly by the law of their equality P-95}. Second definitive articles ‘The law of nations shall be founded on a federation of free states’ states do not plead their case before a tribunal, War alone is their way of bringing suit.{p-98}. The third article states that ‘Law of world citizenship shall be limited to conditions of universal hospitality’ hospitality means the right of a stranger not to be treated as an enemy when he arrives in the land of another, one may refuse to receive him when this can be done, without causing his destruction: but so long as he peacefully occupies his place, one may not treat him with hostility. {p102}.

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Karl Raimund Popper *The Poverty of Historicism*²⁹ {London: Routledge & Kegan, 1957}. The fundamental debate which Popper stated, is that there can be no laws prediction of human of the course of human history by scientific or any other rational method. The paper was first read in January 1936 and Popper dedicated his book ‘to the countless men and women of all creed or nation or races who felt victims to the fascist and communist belief in inexorable laws of historical destiny’. Popper argues in his book in his book in a logical manner first putting the logic and doctrine and arguments of those historians who believe that history can also have laws like the physics and later in the book Popper gives the other side arguments, that there can be no laws applicable in history as in physics.

The main theme is that whether the laws of physics are applicable in theoretical social sciences, Whereas Galileo and Newton made Physics a success, Pasteur work in Biology, nothing concrete comes out in Social science les economics, there are two main school of thoughts in terms of methods in social science ‘pro-Naturalistic’ or ‘Positivist’ who favours the application of physical laws and ‘Anti Naturalistic’ or ‘negatives’ as the opposing social school. The attitude any researcher

²⁹Karl Raimund Popper *The Poverty of Historicism*²⁹ {London: Routledge & Kegan, 1957}

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adopts largely depends upon his views about methods of Physics {Popper in introduction}.

Popper coins the term Historicism, as approach to the social science which assumes that Historical Prediction is their principal aim and this can be attained by discovering the rhythm, and pattern, laws, or trends that underline the evolution of society. Anti-Naturalistic Doctrine of Historicism, they believe or claim that some of the characteristics of Physics methods cannot be applied to the social sciences, Physical laws or the laws of nature are valid anywhere and always, on the other hand sociological laws or laws of social life, differ in different places of and periods {p-5}.

Physics depends upon generalisation, on the general uniformity of nature, upon the observation or assumption: that in similar conditions or circumstances similar things will happen, this principle is taken valid throughout space and time in the case of physics. Another key factor of physics is the experiment which implies artificial control, an artificial isolation and thereby ensures the reproduction of similar conditions, where circumstances are similar, similar things will happen {p-8}.

History may repeats itself but never on the same level, especially if the evets concerned are of historical importance and if they exert a lasting influence on society {p.10}. It is conceivable that by analysing social

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life we may be able to discover and to understand intuitively how and why any particular event came about: that we may clearly understand its causes and effects...yet we may nevertheless find that we are unable to formulate any general laws, which would serve as descriptive in general terms , of such causal links {ibid}.

In exactitude of prediction, Popper highlights that for example, if it is predicted that shares will rise for three days and fall on fourth, than people will sell it on third day and thee by decreasing the prices of the shares on the third day thus falsifying the prediction.{p.13}

Historicism , the analysis and explanations of various differences between the various sociological doctrines and schools. **Holism**, Social science deals with living like biology , thus it should be treated on biological science, the living are different from atomistic; thus Holistic manner{p.17}. a group founded by A & B will be different in characteristics from a group consisting of same number but formed by C and B, a group has a history of its own and that its structure depends to a great extent on its history and that its structure depends to a great extent on its history , it is even conceivable that a group may keep much of its original character even all if all of its original members are replaced by other³⁰ {p.17}. All social groups have their own traditions , their own institutions their own

³⁰ Ibid,p-17.

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rites . Historicism claims that we must study the history of the groups, its traditions and institutions, if, we wish to understand and perhaps to foresee, its future development {p.18}. Biological or organic theory, of social structure, the theory which interprets social groups by analogy with living organisms, indeed Holism is said to be characteristics of biological phenomenon is general and holistic approach is regarded as indispensable in considering how the history of various organisms influences their behaviours {p.19}.

Intuitive Understanding. We must try to understand intuitively the history of the various social groups, it is the doctrine. Popper highlights that it is important for the social scientist to understand the larger aspect of the action, such as raising of new army in a certain country, it is necessary to analyse the intentions , interest and so forth {p.21}. ***Inference by analogy*** , It is a variant of intuitive understanding , from one historical period to the other, although no event can really repeat itself, yet, analogous tendencies may become dominant. Quantitative method in Physics like the reduction of aperture , increase the angle of diffraction, it becomes one cause and effect but its not possible in social science³¹ {pp.25-26}.

Essentialism versus Nominalism. Problem of universals, one of the oldest and most fundamental

³¹ Ibid,pp.22-26

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problem of philosophy , every science use the terms which are called Universal terms ‘energy’ ‘velocity’ ‘carbon’ ‘whiteness’ ‘evolution’ ‘justice’ and so on, thus we can have proper names like World War 1, Alexander The Great Hailey’s Comet. On the other hand Nominalist held the view that universals differ from proper names , only in being to the members of a set or a class of a single thing rather than to just one single thing. The universal term ‘white’ for instance , seemed to this party to be nothing but a label attached to a set of many different things, ‘snow’ ‘swan’ table cloth etc , this is the doctrine of minimalist.

Essentialism are anti nominalists, ‘we call each single white thing ‘white’ on account of a certain intrinsic property that it shares with other white things, namely whiteness , essentialism also relates to realism.

Realism derives from the assertion that universal objects , for instance the whiteness really exist, over and above single things and sets or groups of single things, these universal objects were called as Forms or Ideas, they are also known as Essences . *Methodological essentialist*, are inclined to formulate questions in such terms ‘ what is matter?, they penetrate to the essence of things where as Methodological Nominalists , favour words as merely useful instruments of description, they freely introduce new terms where ever necessary or by

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redefining the old terms where ever convenient.. {pp.28-29}.

Essence or the real character of a social group can reveal itself and be known , only through its history {p-33}.

The *Pro-Naturalistic Doctrine of Historicism*. Popper in the second half of his book , now puts forward the ideas of Pro naturalisti Doctrine ‘sociology is like Physics a branch of knowledge which aims at the same time to be theoretical and empirical, by theoretical , we mean sociology has to explain and to predict events with the help of theories or of universal laws {which it tries to discover} by empirical , it means that , it is backed by experience , that the events it explains and predicts are observable facts and that observation is the basis for the acceptance or rejection of any propounded theory {p.35}. prediction with the help of laws and the testing of the laws by observation must be common to Physics and Sociology , this is{p.36} the Pro naturalistic doctrine. If it is possible for astronomy to predict eclipses, why should it not be possible for sociology to predict revolution, is the standard question which Popper raised. *Observational Basis*, history in this natural sense is the basis of sociology as all sociology is based upon observation and observation of the past are in the form of political chronicle, in brief *sociology is theoretical History* {p-39}. Popper takes the analogy

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between the astronomy and social science as the base of his arguments.

Historical Laws. Popper argues , sociology is theoretical history, its scientific forecast must be based on laws and since they are historical forecasts , forecasts of social change, they must be based upon historical laws, they have to be discovered {p.41}.Popper also highlight Historical Prophecy versus Social Engineering, the prophecy of Typhon coming and the construction of shelter as safety , is the utility of historical forecasts.

Historicism, the kind of history to which historicist wish to identify sociology, looks not only backwards to the past but also forwards to the future. {p.45}. it will be admitted by the defender of the rights of Pure or Fundamental researcher deserves every support n their fight against the narrow view, that scientific research is justified only if it proves to be a sound investment{p.55}. before we can collect data, our interest in data of a certain kind must be aroused, the problem always comes first {p.121}³². initial conditions, historical interpretation, a selective point of view or focus of historical interest, if it cannot be formulated as a liable hypothesis {p.151}.

Richard Collingwood *The idea of History* {Oxford:1956}. Writes about history ‘ this book is an

³² Ibid,p.121.

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essay in the philosophy of history, the name philosophy of history was invented in the eighteenth century by Voltaire, a type of historical thinking in which the historian made up his mind for himself instead of repeating whatever stories he found in old books { in introduction} same phrase was used by Hegel but they meant a Universal History , a third use of the phrase is found in several 19th Century positivists for whom , it was the discovery of the general laws governing the course of history, discovering ‘ uniform laws’ Collingwood’s own idea of philosophy of history is a ‘philosophical inquiry into the nature of history’ {pp,1-7} history is a kind of research or inquiry , science is finding things out and in that sense history is a science, object of history is to ‘action of human beings that have been done in the past’ {pp.9-11}. How does history proceeds? History proceeds by evidence and its interpretations, only clue to what man can do is what man has done {p-10}. Theocratic history, a unscientific history rather a statement of what has been said {p.14}. Collingwood cites Herodotus as the creator of scientific history, although Herodotus in his account of India had never been to India and as such all his accounts are based upon what he listened from others and that does not make him or his histories as scientific. Thucydides is the father of Psychological History which is not narrative facts for the sake of facts , its chief purpose is to affirm laws, psychological laws which is not an event , not yet a

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complex of events , it is an unchanging rule which governs the relations between events, what chiefly interests Thucydides is the laws according to which they happen. {p.30}. World history or Oecumenical history si attributed to Polybius, he has a definite theme, he has a story to tell , a story of notable and memorable things {p.34}. Herder was the first thinker to recognise a systematic way that there are differences between different kind of men {p.91} Marx asserted that historical events have natural cause {p.125}. Positivism may be defined as the philosophy acting in the service of natural science, they ascertain facts and secondly framing laws{pp.126-127}The laws are farmed through generalisation fro facts by induction {p.127} this si known as the Positivist Historiography. Comte proposed that there should be a new science called sociology, which was to begin by discovering the facts about human life and then go on to discover the causal connexions between these facts {p.128} the 19th century historians accepted the first afct but rejected the second the discovery of general laws {p130}. In engalnd F.H.Bradle wrote in 1874 ‘The pre supposition of Critical History@ what the critical historian has to do is to decide whether the persons whose testimony he is using were on this or that occasions judging correctly or erroneously {p.137}³³

³³Richard Collingwood*The idea of History*{Oxford:1956}.p-137.

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Collingwood stated that ‘every historian would agree , I think that history is a kind of research or enquiry’ idea of history, p.9. {Collingwood Richard *Essays in the Philosophy of History* University of Texas:1967.} The philosophy of history therefore is the study of historical thinking, not only the psychological analysis of its actual procedure but the analysis of the ideal which it sets before itself³⁴ Philosophy is thinking about the world as a whole, to study the nature of selected parts of the world is to be scientist; to study its nature as a whole is to be philosopher.³⁵ If there is to be a philosophy of history, history must be something more than a trade or amusement, it must be universal and necessary human interest. At bottom the attempt to construct a universal history failed , because it involved confusion between history and science, they are both forms of knowledge, involving observation and thought and requiring highly developed technical methods. In science the individual fact is of importance only so far as it illustrates a general law, whether Newton’s apple really fell or not is not important as long as we grasp the Newton’s law of gravitation. In history, the opposite is true, the individual fact is the end and general law is of

³⁴ Collingwood Richard ‘The Nature and aim of a Philosophy of History’ first published in 1924-1925 in *Essays in the Philosophy of History* {University of Texas:1967}, p.36.

³⁵ Ibid, the Philosophy of History , leaflet of historical Association No.79, {1930}

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importance only so far as it enables us to determine the fact. {p.133} leaflet No.79, p.133.

Dray William, *History as Re-Enactment R.G. Collingwood's idea of history*. Oxford University , 1995.

The first task is to set out in a little detail what Collingwood means when he insists that historical understanding requires a re-enactment of past experience or a rethinking of past thought.³⁶ The re-enactment doctrine was first expressed in Collingwood's lectures in 1928...auditor reconstructs it mentally or at least follow a present performance

Polybius of Megalopolis a second century BC, Greek historian , wrote *The Histories*³⁷, In 3rd Century BC Rome was ruled by Emperors, it was in 509 BC that it was transformed into Republic, between 280-275 BC, she seen off the threat of Greek. First Punic War 264-241 BC was against Carthage, Second Punic War 218-201BC, in which Hannibal won at Cannae {216BC} but later lost at Zama {201BC}.Polybius set off to explain how Rome conquered and unified the world 220-167BC; Polybius believed that one of the vital qualification for writing history was practical political

³⁶Dray William, *History as Re-Enactment R.G. Collingwood's idea of history*. Oxford University , 1995.P-32.

³⁷ Polybius *The Histories* translated by Robin Waterfield .{London: Oxford,2010.}

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and military experience, he himself was son of a Greek general.³⁸ There is no better correction of human behaviour than knowledge of past events, after all , is there anyone on earth who is so narrow minded or uninquisitiveness that could fail to want to know how and thanks to what kind of political system almost the entire known world was conquered and brought under a single empire of the Romans, in less than fifty –four years .³⁹

James Breasted,. *The Conquest of Civilisation*. Edited by Edith Ware. NewYork: Literary Guild of America,1938.

Breasted wrote and noted that the history of the ancient world was largely made up of the struggle between the Southern Sematic line and the Northern Indo-European Line, in the end, Indo European gain victory⁴⁰

Raflaub, Kurt. and Nathan Rosenstein. Ed. *War and society in the ancient and Medieval World, Asia, the Mediterranean, Europe and Mesopotamia* . London: Centre for The Hellenic Studies, trustees for Harvard University,1999.

³⁸ Polybius in introduction pIX.

³⁹ Polybius,p.1

⁴⁰James Breasted, *The Conquest of Civilisation*. Edited by Edith Ware, {NewYork: Literary Guild of America,1938},p.201.

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Wrote 'in 1500-500 B.C.E called the spring and Aukimen period 'warfare was an integral and essential part of the religious systems, it could be claimed that the state and social order were entirely dependence for their existence on warfare and sacrifice.⁴¹ They further write ' that villages definitely began to be protected by deep ditches from about 4000B.C.E {p.49}. War has been known in japan since about 300BC; The Chronicles of japan, a court history was compiled in 720 AD. {p.49}. The most enduring relation were regional and factional unfortunately , our sources do not give us precise number for the armies of Philip or Alexander in relation to the total population {p.174}

Maier,Berhard. *The Celts a History from the Earliest times to the Present*, trans Kevin Windle, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University,2000.

The term Celts stands for a variety of central European peoples with whom the Greeks and Romans came into contact from 6th Century B.C, These are commonly known today as Germanic...all statements about their culture and religion are stereo typed, Celts are also for linguistic facts 'Celtic' was the designation

⁴¹ Kurt Raflaub, & Nathan Rosenstein, Ed. *War and Society in the ancient and Medieval World, Asia, the Mediterranean, Europe and Mesopotamia* { London: Centre for The Hellenic Studies, trustees for Harvard University,1999},p.9.

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for a group of related languages evolved from a common ancestor...thus they form western most branch of Indo – European family.⁴²

Ross, Anne. *Everyday life of the Pagan Celts*. London: Putnam,1956. On Celts further writes , in pagan Celtic societies, war was regarded as the norm and highly desirable; and fighting and success in a single combat were right and proper for the young warrior and hero effect...by alarm, any fancied insult resulted in an instant seizing of weapons.⁴³

Hutton Webster *Ancient Civilisation*, Chicago, Heath,1931. Notes that India was better known than China...one of the most fertile territories on the globe {p.29} The Punjab was settled by Indo-European people sometimes after 2000B.C; they also spread over the valley of the Ganges and so brought all Northern India under their control⁴⁴

Hutton was a Ph.d professor in University of Nebraska in *Readings in Ancient History* Boston, Heath,1913. He notes that Alexander the Great was also surprised that Porus did not cowed in spirit but advanced

⁴² Bernhard Maier, *The Celts a History from the Earliest times to the Present*, trans Kevin Windle, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University,2000.

⁴³ Anne Ross, *Everyday life of the Pagan Celts*. {London: Putnam,1956},p.54.

⁴⁴ Webster Hutton, *Ancient Civilisation*, {Chicago, Heath,1931},p.29.

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to meet him as one brave man would meet another brave man. {p.147}⁴⁵.

H.G.Wells in his *A short History of the World*, notes that ‘historians are for the most part very scholarly men, now a days, they go in a fear rather of small errors than of disconnectedness, they dread the certain ridicule of a wrong date mark than the disputable attribution of a wrong value {p.3}⁴⁶.

Martin Rex. *Historical Explanations re-enactment and practical inference.* London: Cornell,1977.One of my principal concern in this study is to determine whether universal hypothesis are logically required by the explanations which historians and other social scientists give of human actions, and whether their use would commit us to accepting some versions of universal regularities in mind and behaviour-in particular that version provided in the uniformity conception of human nature {p.21}

History is paramount in understanding the warfare, it causes are numerable, ranging from self-defence, defence of property to ideologies; although certain thinkers tend to differ for instance **Hugo Grotius** {1583-1645} considers those wars as just which are

⁴⁵ Webster Hunt, *Readings in Ancient History* {Boston, Heath, 1913}, p.147.

⁴⁶ H.G.Wells *A short History of the World* {New York: Doubleday, 1971 {1940}, p.3

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undertaken against those who have committed sin against the nature⁴⁷ on the other hand . Grotius is regarded as father of international law, he wrote ‘On the laws of war and peace ‘ in 1625. He stressed upon that states should be treated as individuals and he accepted ‘natural Law’ as ‘right reason’ as the primary basis for determining rules for the rightful conduct of state; he argued for freedom of seas.

Alberto Gentili {1552-1608} is of the opinion that religion is an individual matter and as such religious wars cannot be justified. Gentili also saw international affairs from a secular point of view instead of religious, ‘ Let theologians keep silent about matters outside their province’. Gentili wrote about ‘International Law as applied to War’, he primarily contends that no previous law on warfare has been given earlier thus there is a need to have them. The main issue is that all participants waging a war considers themselves justified, thus it is difficult to lay the blame on any one individual for waging the war. This simple equation becomes monstrous when religion is included as the main cause of waging war, whereas for non-religious issues the way out or compromise can be made by highlighting the logic but even the logic fails in matter of religion. Whether it is just to wage war for the sake of religion? remains the cardinal point of Gentili and he gives his judgement as

⁴⁷ Ibid, p-73.

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religion being an individual act and as such cannot be justified as the just cause of waging war. Hugo Grotius differ on the ground as ‘Not on grounds of right in battle formed but rather with the sword do men seek to enforce their claim’. And his classic is ‘when I am in arms , am I to think of laws’. Grotius was of the opinion that history is important in understanding the laws of nature⁴⁸, as it supplied both illustration as well as the judgement. The legality of war in his opinion was based upon its justification ‘ those wars are unjustified which are taken without any cause’ and as regarding the causes , he differs not from the logic ‘ first, defence of self and property’.

Another philosophical view as expressed by **Emmerich De Vattel**⁴⁹ {1714-1767} revolves around two principles, first one declares that ***‘regular war as regards its effects must be accounted just on both sides’*** and second principles govern ***whatever is permitted to one because of the state of war is also permissible to the other***⁵⁰. Laws of nation is a famous work of Vattel and it has following segments , the natural law, the law

⁴⁸ Abdul Said, ed, *Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance* {Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968} p-62.

⁴⁹ Vattel ,a swiss wrote Laws of Nation and introduced the term Balance of Power.

⁵⁰ M.G. Forsyth edited, *The theory of International Affairs selected texts from Gentilli to Traitschke* {George Allen, London, 1970}, p 110.

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taught by nature to all animals. Civil law is the one which is established by the people themselves and lastly Laws of nation which are laws established by nations. Vattel observation is made upon the Roman's *Ingentium* which were given by Emperor Justinian. Hobbs also contemplated on the issue and agreed that 'natural law for men and natural law for nation' principals of both are same. Since nations are composed of men who are by nature free and independent and who before the establishment of civil society lived together in the state of nature, such nations or sovereign states must be regarded as so many free persons living together in the state of nature.⁵¹

Danger and death are results of state of nature, there is no war between the man it is only between the states⁵² wrote **Jean-Jacques Rousseau** {1712-1778, he also author social contract}. Man by nature was peaceful and timid to him, at the least danger, his first action is to flee, he only fights through the force of his habit and experience. However interest, prejudice, and vengeance all these passions which make him brave danger and death are remote from him in the state of nature

⁵¹ Theory of international Affairs selected texts, p-103.

⁵² M.G. Forsyth edited, *The theory of International Affairs selected texts from Gentili to Traitschke* {George Allen, London, 1970}, pp, 167-170.

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State & Nation

State is defined as ‘a body of people occupying a definite territory and political organised under one government’⁵³. Elements that make a state includes an idea, culture, history and ideology. Physical elements and institutions. State can be classified as **strong, weak, failed, coherent, and multinational, multi-state** state depending upon the legitimacy, capacity, writ, civic services and political institutions.

Whereas **nation** is defined as ‘any aggregation of people having like institutions and customs and a sense of social homogeneity and mutual interest’. **Ernest Renan** stated in 1882 that that it is not only the common language but the fact that having accomplished great things in past the wish to accomplish the great things in future constitutes a nation. ‘It is not only the common language but the fact that having accomplished great things in past, the wish to accomplish the great things in future constitutes a nation’.⁵⁴ Nationalism is a belief that world’s people are divided into nations and that each of these nations has the right of self determination.

⁵³ Abdul Said, ed, *Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance* {Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968} p-2.

⁵⁴ N.D.Palmer & H.C.Perkins, ed, *International Affairs, the World community in Transition*, second edition, {Stevens & Sons, London, 1957},p-13.

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Treaty of Westphalia {1648} recognised the undisputed sovereignty of secular rulers, it is the ruler right to determine state's religion, treaty further recognised a state dominance and sovereignty. In the same time period India, Emperor Akbar was already assuming the same power and adopted the spirit of Westphalia in totality, although he was not present and it is doubtful if he ever heard the name Westphalia. He introduced a state religion in which he collected the best and non controversial acts and beliefs of all his subjects {Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist and Christian } with himself as the Emperor having a final word in any dispute.

Thus a state may be composed of many nations, but Hans Morgentau differs as in his opinion there cannot be many nations composing one state rather 'One Nation , one state'⁵⁵. There are categories of states like, strong state, weak state, failed state, coherent state, multinational state {state comprising of two or more nations}, multi state nation { nation whose members live in two or more states}⁵⁶. ' A nation is a body of men inhabiting a definite territory who normally are driven from different races but possess a common stock of

⁵⁵ Abdul Said, ed, *Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance* {Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968} p-13. Stated by Hans Morgentau.

⁵⁶ Mark Armstutz, *International Conflict & Co-operation, an introduction to world Politics*, {Mcgraw Hill, London,1999},p-31.

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thoughts and feelings acquired and transmitted during course of a common history; who on the whole and in the main , through more in the past than in the present include in that common stock a common religious belief, who generally and as a rule use a common language as the vehicle of their thoughts and feelings. Who besides common thoughts and feelings also cherish a common will and accordingly form or lead to form a separate state for the expression and realisation of that will'.⁵⁷ This concept is bit further from what Ernest Renan stated in 1882, at Sorbonne

War

Thus one of the major difference in understanding the **Nature of War** is in its justification and there are always two opinions that exists that is why nations or humans go to war. On the other hand apart from religious causes there are boundaries and Frontier disputes which have compelled the nations to exercise this option. This kind of disputes can be classified in four broad categories. In the first one there existed no regional boundary, neither delimited or demarcated and no mutually agreed treaty as well. The Anglo-Afghan

⁵⁷ Ernest Baker in 1927, National Character and factors in its formations, N.D.Palmer & H.C.Perkins, ed, *International Affairs, the World community in Transition*, second edition, {Stevens & Sons, London, 1957}, p-13.

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wars 1839-1872 are the examples where there was no boundary between India and Afghanistan. It was finally agreed upon in 1893 under Durand Line agreement. In next category , there existed a boundary a defacto frontier either delimited in a treaty or map or even demarcated on the ground but the entire legitimacy is challenged by one party or the other. The Third Anglo-Afghan war of 1919 is a classic example of this kind . Pakistan – India war of 1965 over Rann of kutch is another glaring example of this kind. In the third category there exists two rival delimitations sometimes deriving from different treaties, China – India conflict of 1962 falls in this category . last is the type where a mutually agreed delimitation exists but dispute is about the demarcation on ground.⁵⁸ Frontier dispute between Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi , it was initially agreed upon between the Ottoman and Britain in 1914 but later Ibn Saud rejected it and issue erupted in 1949.

Levels of Analysis

There are three types of analysis, first is the **individual**, which we all do, second is the analysis which is carried out at **state level** by the concerned authorities who see it from varying angles. A political party will observe the action of India in Kashmir from

⁵⁸ Evan Luard Edited, The International Regulations of Frontier Dispute {Thames, London, 1970} p-16.

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Pakistan political scenario, army will and is observing the Taliban offer of peace talks, Pakistan foreign office is monitoring the Ukrainian situation. The third level is that of **international organisations** analysis, for instance the G-8 action of suspending Russia 's membership in the wake of the Crimean crisis are few of the examples. **Paradigm**, is an intellectual framework.

Realism , Idealism, Interdependence & Dependency

These are four major perspective that have emerged out of the Post WWII. Realism highlights Pessimism, conflicted relations, Priority of power, Consequential ethics and above all priority or supermantra of state. E.F Carr, Hans Morgenthau, George F. Kenan and Niebuhr are few of the leading spokesmen for Realism. It revolves around the basic nature of man which earlier Greek philosophers have brought forward but it can be debatable as all men are not equal and as such their thinking perspective is different but seen collectively basing upon history , the realism revolves around the state. It focus on foreign policy which in realist opinion should be judged by its consequence and not the motive {consequential ethics}. Sate have conflicted relations with other states , Pakistan

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cannot overlook its power requirement which can be fulfilled by Iran being closer rather than to forge friendship with Saudi Arabia , this is an example of conflicted relations. **Idealism.** On the other hand believes in optimism, harmonious international relations, priority of law and institutions and above all priority of moral purposes. Dante, Kant, Woodrow Wilson, Jimmy Carter , Nelson Mandela and Gandhi are few of the prominent personalities which have belief in the idealism. Religion is also an idealistic belief but then all religion are not equal, Buddhism is a classical example of idealism and Islam a propagator of Realism. Western idealism is deep rooted in Christianity's beliefs.

Interdependency. An approach to the politics that emphasizes the growing influence of transnational socio-economics co-operation and the role of non-state actors. It pays attention and highlights the rise of non state actors, with government no longer the only determinants of international relations. Functional cooperation is a priority , along with decline role of force. The NGOs role is important in this facet, for instance the 'landmine' was declared as inhuman by the late Lady Dianna and as such its use by any country would jeopardise the economic and public relation in other countries especially in UK. **Dependency** is opposite to interdependency and highlights the total reliance of a country on the other, It is based upon political economy of Marxism, weakness of state are

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related to its external conditions. It is quite interesting as UK is dependent upon other countries for its raw material and food requirement, on the other hand countries like Burma are dependent upon foreign investment due to poor infra structures, Germany is dependent rather Europe is dependent upon Russian gas for warmth in winter season. In dependency theory stress is upon the tussle among rich and poor countries, priorities of economic relationship, priority of interdependence and impact of non state actors.

Sovereignty

No word is used in political science with greater meanings of word than sovereignty, 'few political conceptions have been the subject of so much discussion among us in last 100 years' Professor Methwin,⁵⁹. It is often described as the supreme power over citizens and subjects without restrained by law.⁶⁰ Stated by **Jean Bodwin** {1530-1596}. To Grotius , it is 'that power

⁵⁹ Abdul Said, ed, *Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance* {Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968},p-25 also see Mark R.Armstutz Anthony, *International conflict & cooperation, An introduction to World Politics* {Mcgraw Hill, London, 1999} p- 28

⁶⁰ Mark Armstutz, *International Conflict & Co-operation, an introduction to world Politics*, {Mcgraw Hill, London,1999}, p-28 also see Abdul Said, ed, *Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance* {Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968},p-25

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whose actsmay not be made void by the acts of any other human will'.⁶¹

Ideology

'It is a cluster of ideas about life, society or government which originate in most cases as consciously advocated or dogmatically asserted. Social, political or religious slogans or battles cries and which through continuous usages and preachment gradually becomes the characteristics beliefs or dogmas of a particular group, party or nationality'⁶².

Morale on the other hand is defined, again it has many variations, ' is a thing made up of loyalty, courage, faith, dignity, sentiments for the known, fear and dislike of the unknown and self interest....healthy frame of mind, characterised by fidelity to a cause'.⁶³

Realism . The notion of realism refers to a tradition of thought with in the area of International Relation theory, credit is given to Hans Morgenthau 'states of the world

⁶¹ N.D.Palmer & H.C.Perkins, ed, *International Affairs, the World community in Transition*, second edition, {Stevens & Sons, London, 1957}, p-26.

⁶² Abdul Said, ed, *Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance* {Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968},p-82 as stated by Deottut Le Tracy {1754-1836}

⁶³ H.E.Carr, *Twenty Years Crisis* {London, 1946}, p-108.

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exists in an anarchical and rather hostile international environment. In order to survive and prosper in such an environment, it is in best interest of state to develop and expand its power as best it can⁶⁴.

Pacifism . war is never justified from a moral point of view, it lies in the work of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam{1466 -1536}, he wrote The Compalint of Peace , argued that christains ought never make war among each other neither on infidels, however in his Instructions to a Christian Prince, he concedes that there may be occasions when war against infidels is justified.⁶⁵

Influence. Ability of one actor to alter the preference and behaviour of another actor without use of violence.

Authority. Capacity to command obedience without compulsion or threat of co-ercion.

Power. Most common form of coercive influence, ability to determine outcome, ability to prevail in conflict and to overcome obstacles. ‘power’ is based upon perception. It can be classified as meta power, soft power and hard power. Elements of power are potential power and actual power. Tangibles in a power are population, territory, natural resources, military capacity.

⁶⁴ *The Morality of War*, A Reader. Ed, David Kinsella & Craig L.Carr { Viva, Delhi,2008, Indian Edition}p.13

⁶⁵ *The Morality of War*, A Reader. Ed, David Kinsella & Craig L.Carr { Viva, Delhi,2008, Indian Edition}p.33.

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Balance of Power Theory; states , ‘peace and global stability are best achieved through and maintained through a fundamental equilibrium of power among actors’⁶⁶. **Hegemonic Power Theory** contest this by stating that world peace and economic prosperity are a by product of a hegemonic ally imposed structure.

Force. Implicit or explicit use , or threat of use, the most violent and costly method of bringing about political influence, because it depends upon military and political power to achieve goals . Collective security. Seek to deter aggression by promising collective retaliation against any community members being aggressed.

Empirical. It stands for factual

Normative. It stands for value

Ethics. Critical analysis of moral values and their application. Word ethic is derived from Greek word ethos, thus ethics is the examination, justification and critical analysis of morality. Political morality revolves around impartiality, self enforcing and universal . human actions are thus judged upon morality, legality and voluntary. Moral scepticism, Prudence and communitarianism are all ethical traditions. **Prudence.** Practical wisdom, virtue of selecting and implementing

⁶⁶ Mark Armstatz, *International Conflict & Co-operation, an introduction to world Politics*, {Mcgraw Hill, London,1999},p-142.

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policies in the light of alternative moral action ‘practical judgement over moral values’.

Communitarianism. A tradition that assumes that states are morally legitimate and subject to widely accepted legal and moral norms known as common morality. The political behaviour of states should be guided and judged by norms of International Morality.

Consequentialism. Ethical behaviour must be judged primarily by outcomes. Greatest good for the greatest number of people.

Moral Absolutism. An ethical tradition that insists on strict adherence to moral rules regardless of consequences.**Moral Scepticism.** Belief that moral principles do not apply direct to international relations. Vocabulary of morals and ethics is inadequate to discuss or test foreign policies of a state, remarked Dean Acheson.⁶⁷ **Moralism,** when problems are over simplified and when moral values are applied as if issue were either good or bad. **Morality** word comes from Latin ‘mores’ meaning customs and common usage based upon shared values, value of right and wrong, good and bad.

Cosmopolitanism. An ethical tradition that assumes that persons, not states are morally significant in global

⁶⁷ Mark Armstatz, *International Conflict & Co-operation, an introduction to world Politics*, {Mcgraw Hill, London,1999},p-163.

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society, Humanitarian invention is thus morally permissible.

Doctrine of Cultural Relativism. Belief that since world is composed of many different cultures with its own moral norms, there is no universal binding morality.

Foreign policy. Explicit or implicit actions of a governmental institutions officials designated to promote national interest beyond a country's territorial boundaries. Foreign policy must start with security, remarked Kissinger. Decision making process in foreign policy is either based upon Rational Actor Model or Organisational Power Model. President Musharraf when pledged the support of Pakistan and its resources to America after 9/11, it was rational actor model; however when Pakistan sent its troops to Gulf war in 1990, then it was Organisational Process Model. Bureaucratic bargaining model is another model but it is not exclusive for foreign policy, in it various governmental organisation bargain among themselves.

Belief system. A collection of core values, beliefs and images that make up an individual's world view.

Cognitive Dissonance. Psychological conflict between existing beliefs and newly acquired information.

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Misperception. Distortions of reality caused by such factors as humans biases, personal values and ideological presupposition.

Geopolitics. The field that examines the inter relationship of geography, national power and foreign policy. One can add history because geography is history in motion.

Democratic peace thesis. Democracies or democratic nations do not fight against each other.

International Justice is based upon procedural justice which requires strict and impartial adherence to rules and procedures. Distributive justice on the other hand is associated with the achievement of a particular outcome, it requires fair and equitable distribution of goods and resources.

International Law. It is the law among the states and not over them, name for the body of customary and conventional rules which are considered legally binding by civilised states in their intercourse with each other'. There are three school of thoughts among international law, one is naturalist {Grotius} , second is Positivist and third is a group which adheres to both groups.

Neo Realism.

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It is also known as structural realism, it highlights the impact of anarchy on state ‘*states will seek to maximize national power in order to reduce their vulnerability and increase national capability to advance foreign policy interest*’⁶⁸. The fundamental change from past is in accepting the institutions of the state as the primary cause of all the actions rather than the individual. Emphasis is on the structure of the society and institutions as the key corner state of the foreign policy.

An idealist approach, optimistic about probability of peace and global cooperation, in their opinion the primary duty of state is to provide security and welfare⁶⁹.

Cold War Interpretation 1946-1991

Traditional , soviet Union is the culprit, a **revisionist** considers USA as the main culprit and **moderate** regards it as Great power Rivalry

Six Principles of Han G Morgenthau

⁶⁸ Mark R.Armstutz, *International conflict & cooperation, An introduction to World Politics* {Mcgraw Hill, London, 1999},p-17.

⁶⁹ Mark R.Armstutz, *International conflict & cooperation, An introduction to World Politics* {Mcgraw Hill, London, 1999},p-18.

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Following are the 6 principles which **Morgenthau** has described in his book “*Politics among Nations*”

1. Politics is governed by certain objective laws which are deep rooted in human nature like society. To understand human nature it is necessary to understand these objective laws.
2. In international politics there is one thing and that is National interest. And the concept of interest is defined as in terms of power. Statesman thinks and acts in terms of interest which is defined as power.
3. Interest is the governing principle in international politics. Interest is valid but not fixed, interest changes with the change in international environment.
4. There is no morality in international politics. Political realism is aware of morality but it cannot be applied to the actions of the states. The primary function of a state is to satisfy and protect its national interest.
5. The universal moral laws which govern the universe do not apply to the action of states. Political realism refuses moral laws of universe. Moral laws of a particular state cannot be universalized. Their main focus is on interest. The action of a state is always based upon national interest as defined in terms of power.

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6. Politics is autonomous among all other concepts. Like the economist defines its interest in terms of wealth, lawyer defines its interest in terms of legal rules; moralist defines its interest in terms of moral principles. A political realist always thinks in terms of interest defined as power. They are all incorporated under the notion of political realism.